1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXXIII.

INITIATION OF BOYS.

787
881

I DO not know how to give a better name to a superstitious practice which is very common among the Indians, and, indeed, is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods which I shall presently describe, they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world.

When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared before hand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the Mannitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment,

whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, 787
a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those 881
who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given [551]
to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under perturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings.

The belief in the truth of those visions is universal 787
among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they knew what they could do? they never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned.

I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a mannitto. They could always cite numerous instances of valiant men, who, in former times, in consequence of such dreams, had boldly attacked their enemy with nothing but the *Tamahican*[*] in their hand, had not looked about to survey the number of their opponents, but had gone straight forward, striking all down before them; some, they said, in the French wars, had entered houses of the English filled with people, who, before they had time to look about, were all killed and laid in a heap. Such was the strength, the power and

---

[*] War-hatchet; from which we have made *tomahawk*.

787 the courage conveyed to them in their supernatural dreams, and which nothing could resist.

787 881 If they stopped here in their relations, I might, perhaps, consider this practice of putting boys under perturbation, as a kind of military school or exercise, intended to create in them a more than ordinary courage, and make them undaunted warriors. It certainly has this effect on some, who fancying themselves under the immediate protection of the celestial powers, despise all dangers, and really perform acts of astonishing bravery. But it must be observed, that all that are thus initiated are not designed for a military life, and that several learn by their dreams that they are to be physicians, sorcerers, or that their lives are to be devoted to some other *civil* employment. And it is astonishing what a number of superstitious notions are infused into the minds of the unsuspecting youth, by means of those dreams, which are useless, at least, for making good warriors or hunters. There are even some who by that means are taught to believe in the transmigration of souls.

787 I once took great pains to dissuade from these notions a very sensible Indian, much esteemed by all who knew him, even among the whites. All that I could say or urge was not able to convince him that at the time of his *initiation* (as I call it) his mind was in a state of temporary derangement. He declared that he had a clear recollection of the dreams and visions that had occurred to him at the time, and was sure that they came from the agency of celestial spirits. He asserted very strange things, of his own supernatural knowledge, which he had obtained not only at the time of his initiation, but at other times, even before he was born. He said he knew he had lived through two generations; that he had died twice and was born a third time, to live out the then present race, after which he was to die and never more to come to this country again. He well remembered what the women had predicted while he was yet in his

mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773 until they were "pretty well grown,"[17] or until they were old enough to hunt.[18] Trowbridge in the nineteenth century said: 553

> Children are named at one of the grand worshipping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formally named. The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly . . . and there presented to one of the old men of the same tribe [phratry?] together with a fathom of wampum for his services.[19]

Information from the eighteenth century suggests that temporary childhood names were also given. These names were often derived from dreams: [787]

> If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she used little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream.[20]

Van der Donck in the seventeenth century specified the mother as name-giver, but Loskiel in 1794 indicated the father in that capacity.[21] Kinietz has suggested that "part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection."[22] The shift away from a matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis in society may also have led to the naming of children by the father. According to informants, a friend of the parents, usually an aged person, was asked to give the child a name. This person was given a present; in the last century the present was dress goods or the like (M.B., O.A., J.T.). The name-giver did not name the child immediately, but waited until an auspicious dream had occurred.[23] Names for girls were "feminine sounding" and those for boys were "masculine sounding." "Coming into Full Bloom" was given as an example of a girl's name, and "Stands Before the Wind" was given as a boy's name (N.D.). One of Kinietz's informants said that animal names were used, and another said that children were named for the month in which they were born.[24] Masculine names could be feminized by adding an appropriate suffix.[25]

The use of an adult's name was restricted to the Big House Ceremony and analogous rites: childhood names did not have this restriction.[26] It was not uncommon for a person to select a new name upon becoming an adult. This might be because the old name no longer fitted, or the individual might merit a new name because of some worthy deed which he had performed. Denton said that "every one invents a name to himself, which he likes best. Some calling themselves *Rattlesnake*, *Skunk*, 551

---

[17] Holm, 1834, p. 127.

[18] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202.

[19] Trowbridge MS.

[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80

[21] Loskiel, 1794, p. 62.

[22] Kinietz, 1946, p. 45.

[23] Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 101; M.B., O.A., J.T.

[24] Kinietz, 1946, p. 101.

[25] Harrington, 1913, p. 213.

[26] Trowbridge MS; J.T., O.A.

take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge 866
said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children
to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children 736
were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom
to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children
are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take
charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared 818
for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No
stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.—The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of 881
the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher 787
the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten
years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can
best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.—When a girl menstruated for the first time she was 881
secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ...being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

---

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.

[38] Trowbridge MS.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.

[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.

[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1798, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 56; N.D., O.A.

776 weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

> 776 532 He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

● 787 Approaches to the Supernatural

776 The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

> Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious

---

[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.

[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.

[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.

[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 30.

[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.

[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.

[14] Trowbridge MS.

787 776

ceremonials.[15] Subsequent to their initial vision men might have repeated contacts with their spiritual guardians. An informant's grandfather had multiple visions, and the account is reproduced here to demonstrate the type of vision and vision quest current in the nineteenth century; it probably is similar to earlier ones:

> My grandfather was hunting one time as a boy. He wounded a deer, but it got away. He was sad and felt very bad. He cried and cried. He happened to be standing near a grove of young pine trees. The pines sang a beautiful song to him. He stopped crying and listened to their singing and the things they were telling him. The song was so beautiful that he no longer cared that the deer had escaped. Later he had a second vision of a large bone in the sky. In a third vision he saw a serpent with twelve eyes. This serpent could see everything. His fourth vision was of tiny babies and of unborn babies. All the babies were glad to see him. When he was mature he became a shaman and excelled at curing the diseases of childhood. (M.B.)

Young men obtained guardian spirits by sacrifice, fasting, and isolation, as has been noted. The supplicant tried to cajole and flatter some supernatural being into pitying him and hence safeguarding him. Zeisberger, who understood the young man's attitude, said:

> Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of the wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury.[16]

Guardian spirits were usually animals or birds, but could be plants, any of the deities, inanimate objects, or ghosts. Trowbridge mentioned as guardian spirits bear, wolf, dog, tree, cornstalk, "or anything else which the imagination can conceive"; Zeisberger, the moon, owls and other birds, fish, and "ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants."[17] As Benedict has shown for the Central Algonkians, the Delawares felt that animal guardian spirits were ancestral prototypes rather than the animals themselves. Thus, guardian spirit animals were not necessarily taboo as food.[18] 776

The apparition that appeared in visions and in other hallucinations not only indicated what sort of supernatural being he was, but foretold the future of the one to whom he appeared — whether or not he was to suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known 789 remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[25] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[26]

---

[15] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 227; Speck, 1931, pp. 51-54.

[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 127; Harrington, 1921, pp. 67-77, gave examples of a number of visions.

[17] Trowbridge MS; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132.

[18] Benedict, 1923, p. 49.

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether 787 a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely 832 magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some 789 type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[27]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. 774 The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[28] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[29] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[30] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[31] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[32] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

---

[25] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.

[26] Speck, 1950, pp. 70-72.

[27] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.

[28] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.

[29] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.

[30] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.

[31] Trowbridge MS.

[32] Harrington, 1913, p. 228.

*177 and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly."[80]

*177
668
●787
About 1750 prophets began to appear among the Delawares, and these individuals continued to appear sporadically until 1812.[81] The Shawnee prophet of the early nineteenth century, although of another tribe, may be regarded as representing the end of this phase of acculturation. No prophets appeared before 1750 and none after 1812, if exception is made of the initiators of peyotism in the late nineteenth century. This anti-acculturative movement and the wars of this period were closely associated: some of the messages of the prophets fostered war, and, conversely, military defeats probably furthered their appearance. During this phase of acculturation the Delawares were desperately trying to save what was left of their cultural and social integrity and to turn back the clock to a mythical age when war, personal demoralization, and cultural chaos were unknown. One way of attaining this end was to follow the dictates of the supernatural powers as revealed by prophets. This the Delawares did in nativistic movements of a type which has been described as "revivalistic nativism."[82] This form of nativism is defined as "an attempt to revive extinct or at least moribund elements of culture . . . ."[83] All of these prophets taught that by following supernatural injunctions as revealed to them, acculturation could be halted and even reversed. The most successful was known as the Delaware Prophet or the Imposter, whose career reached its zenith about 1762.[84] In a vision this man received instructions from the Great Spirit on how to restore his people to their former state. His message was made concrete by a number of symbolic devices painted on a tanned deer hide or on a wooden stick. Copies of the deer-hide map were made, some on paper, and were sold by the Delaware Prophet. Some of the purchasers, in turn, seem to have become minor prophets. Heckewelder's description of this symbolic device is the most detailed:

> The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to "the heavenly re-

---

[80] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 20.

[81] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 265, gives this date, but the Delaware prophet did not appear until a decade later, in 1760. (Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, said, however, that Papunhang, the christianized Delaware preacher, had established his religious group before 1752).

[82] Linton, 1943, pp. 230-40.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[84] Peckham, 1947, p. 98; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 291.

177*
668
787

gions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south-east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people, wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way.... The space on the outside of this interior square was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake."[95]

The prophet discussed before his public this representation of the supernatural world and pointed out that through neglect and disobedience the Great Spirit had turned his benevolent attention to the whites. He had allowed the whites to usurp Indian land and to bar passage of the Indian to the spirit world.[96] To correct this state of affairs the prophet advocated several courses of action:

> Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson* [poison, alcohol], which they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly regions which they have taken from us.[97]

James Kenny, a Pittsburgh trader, emphasized that the prophet advocated the cessation of trade with whites, and said:

> ...its agree'd to by their Whole Nation, to follow their new Plan of Religion, & all their Boys are to be Train'd to yeuse of the Bow & Arrow for Seven Years Then to Live entirely on dry'd Meat & a Sort of Bitter Drink made of Roots & Plants & Water ye Women & Antient Men may Raise & Eat Corn at ye Expiration of ye Seven Years, to quit all Commerce with ye White People & Clothe themselves with Skins.[98]

Another prophet, a Munsi called Wangomend, appeared in 1766 and met Zeisberger in 1767. Relatively little is known about this man, although Heckewelder mentioned him:

> This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by the great and good Spirit, in order to teach

---

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 291-92; Loudon published a purported reproduction of the prophet's book along with McCullough's description of the prophet and his works (Loudon, 1808, pp. 324-25, and tipped-in engraving). Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, saw the "old priest's" book in 1760. Zeisberger, 1910, p. 133, and Kenny, 1913, p. 171, also described the prophet's symbolic world portrait.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 292-93.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[98] Kenny, 1913, p. 188; also see pp. 171-72.

> *177 his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been
> 668 taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been
> ●787 permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes, and another for the white people.[99]

The last of the prophets associated with the Delawares was Tenskawatawa, a Shawnee and brother of Tecumseh. These two Shawnees had established their headquarters and lived for several years, beginning in 1798, at one of the Delaware villages on White River in present-day Indiana.[100] The prophet preached against drunkenness, racial intermarriage, "release of Indian lands to the whites by sale, and the sin of witchcraft."[101] Luckenbach in 1805 said of him:

> We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher, and that a large number of Delawares and Schawanos had come together in Woapicamikunk to hear what this heathen teacher had to say. As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism. In addition he forbids all sins, and insists that parents should not strike their children. He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only; that the heathen should shave their heads and live as did the Indians in olden days. He assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more. He also related in an address that God had shown him a crab whose claws were quite full of seaweeds; that the spirit had told him, "Look! this crab is from Boston and has brought with it something of the land there. If you Indians will do everything I tell you I will turn over the land so that the white people are covered and you alone shall possess the land."[102]

Some diffusion from Christianity had occurred, although the prophets vehemently rejected Christianity and most of Euro-American civilization. The idea of a heaven and a hell, common in the messages of the prophets, is a case in point, as is the symbolic number twelve, which has been mentioned. Other traits of this sort may have diffused about this time. It seems certain that the revivalistic nativism did much to strengthen the Big House Ceremony, and, as Kinietz has shown, many minor elements seem to have been added to it by the prophets. Shaking hands with the left hand and the addition of ten carved heads in the Big House, bringing the total to twelve, are examples which he mentioned.[103] These changes in religion do not mean that any of the native ceremonies lost their force or vitality. According to Zeisberger:

---

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 294.

[100] Thompson, 1937, p. 45.

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 393; also see p. 262.

[103] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 118-19.

> Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[104]

177*
668
787

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

177*
175

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

177*
175
131

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1815 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

---

[104] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105] Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108] Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109] Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

*177 795 although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

*177 ● 787 Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

*177 515 Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

*177 757 Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

*177 796 Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[4] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

---

[4] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

224 789 [887] pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect 728 is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations.

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First 624 intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other 787 ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who 861 spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being 624 minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits,* that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

NM7 Delaware NM7

Iroquois NM9

Nanticoke NM11

D

773 who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they I 773 believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing. N 773 The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

D 776 ●787 They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos.* If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

776
787
668
794

and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

About thirty years ago[302] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

753 776 ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

[787] It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.[4]

753 158 The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

171 I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

---

[4] Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

IMPORTANCE OF THE DREAM VISION IN DELAWARE CURING

787 The dream vision[*] is of paramount importance in the life of the Delaware. This supernatural visitation is experienced during childhood, or less frequently, at the age of maturity. More commonly it occurs during the fast-vigil of a youth at puberty, alone in the forests searching for a spirit guardian (Benedict, 1923). It is usually to such individuals, considered by the Spirit-forces to be spiritually and morally pure, that this great blessing is bestowed. The gift is not restricted to the male but supernatural power granted to a girl is usually of lesser force. It is said, however, that women, through spiritual guidance, are more adept as a rule in the art of preparing and administering herb medicines than men. Occasionally a man has been blessed with a vision that gives him power to become an herb doctor. (Wi·tapanóxwe became proficient in that field as will become evident in a subsequent narrative.)

Not always is the revelation experienced in a dream. The neophyte may be walking alone in the woods, or even in a situation of apparent danger when the presence of the spiritual agent is made known to him. A voice from a rock, a bird, an animal or even the sky is recognized, as the medium through which the coveted power is conveyed to the fortunate one. Occasionally a song is granted to the novice during 424 the visitation. This bequest is regarded as personal property to be used exclusively by the owner during participation in the ceremonies of the Big House or in practicing healing with herbs or in the sweat-lodge.

To receive such a revelation from the Creator means much to a Delaware. It affords the assurance of spiritual guidance in all things, thus giving him confidence to go afield and to face whatever adversities may come into his life without fear.

To those whom the Creator has entrusted with this great gift comes the full realization of the necessity of fulfilling certain obligations. The dream-vision is not divulged until a man reaches maturity and comes to feel that he is capable of appearing before his tribesmen as one who has had sufficient experience in life to avoid incurring criticism

---

[*] Zeisberger "To the dreams they appeal for in them they have much faith." See also: *Ibid*, p. 25, Harrington (1921, p. 61). "The most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely so vivid or well-developed as we find them here."

in carrying out his ceremonial duties. The process of preparation is 787
long and arduous, a period during which the novice must observe carefully the ways of his elders. The youth is instructed to be prayerful and humble in spirit since it is believed that only through prayer and faith are great things accomplished. [157]
Humility is the keynote of Delaware behavior even among those men and women who have attained the experience of advanced age. If one has lived a clean, pure life and has been faithful to the doctrines of his tribal religion, he shall indeed be called great. Not of the pompous, boastful, type but a truly righteous man with full realization of the joys and blessings which come to those who are ever mindful of the Creator.

Some of the more spiritually inclined are known to have had more than one vision, as in the case of Wi·tapanóxwe whose first revelation came in his youth, the second later in life. If one has had several visions he usually is guided by the first but in any event he is free to choose according to his spiritual needs. After such a decision is made, however, the individual continues to adhere to the guardian selected throughout the remainder of his life.

Having lived according to the precepts of his native faith and achieved 787
the age of mature experience, the informant was not averse to making 159
known the spiritual power revealed to him during two dream visions. His recitation and song have been fully given in text in a preceding number of this series (Speck, 1931, pp. 128, 168). Now he is ready to take his place in the Big House Ceremonies and in the sweat lodge but prior to the recording of his vision, he still felt inexperienced and unworthy of appearing before his kinsmen in a ceremonial role.

The following is presented in the words of Wi·tapanóxwe and is self explanatory:

> It was while attending school at Chilocco, Oklahoma, I was taken sick with the black measles. The authorities were alarmed, thinking that it might be scarlet fever and more than a hundred of the pupils were removed to the local hospital and placed under quarantine. It was during that time that I had my trials and tribulations. The summer before, Mr. Wright, a noted evangelist of part Choctaw descent, had visited the school and held revivals. So many were converted that I too thought that I was fully converted and was persuaded to say that I had accepted Jesus Christ for my personal Savior. But now came the real test. I was one of thirty patients in a first floor ward and read the Scriptures constantly.

787
159

The attending nurse had an aged father who often told us that he had served in the Civil War. During that time he had the measles but he did not even go to bed. He was assigned to look after the personal needs of the patients in my ward and he soon tired of his duties. He would try to force us out of bed and called us all kinds of ugly names. He was more profane than any white man I had ever seen. We were not allowed to drink cold water to cool the high fever of the dreadful disease but were compelled to drink a weak solution of cayenne-pepper tea to quench our thirst. Of course that alone was bad enough but the disagreeable old veteran made matters worse.

His actions so disgusted me that I decided since I was feeling on the mend, to get up and put on my clothes. Unbeknown to either the doctor or the nurse, I got up and attended to the patients, giving them medicine as I had done many times before. It was in the month of February, the sun came out warm, but there was still a little scattering of snow on the prairie. Having finished my tasks I went out on the south side of the building and stood in the sunshine for a few minutes. Although I was wearing an overcoat, cap, and overshoes, the exposure, which I thought was harmless, nearly caused my death, leaving me weak for many years. Fortunately I pulled through—weak but determined to live.

This is the first time I have related my experience with the so-called white man's religion. That evening before five o'clock I was taken sick and went back to bed again. The doctor and nurse did not know that I had been up but the sudden rise in my temperature alarmed them greatly. I was delirious the greater part of the time for more than seven days. So they decided to notify my parents who lived some eighty miles away. It was at this time a vision came to me and accompanied me around the world. At times it seemed as though we were not on earth. This man spoke the Delaware language and he showed me many of the Indian ceremonies, some of which I had never seen or heard before. He showed me men and women who had departed this life many years before, and told me their names.

When at times I would awake from what seemed only a short nap, I would find myself talking to my mother who was at my bedside constantly. To my sorrow I found out that many of my comrades were worse off than I. It was here that I fully realized that the teachings of my mother had been so deeply impressed on my mind. This experience turned me back to the Delaware Big House.

So it happened that years later, after worrying about my careless life at home in Muskogee, these same strange visions came and spoke to me from mid-sky and gave me a song. They seemed to be four in number and were not earthly persons, but belonged to the sky.

It was then they came to tell me what my mission on earth was to be. Since everyone has a purpose in life, mine was to heal the sick. Whenever I dreamed a secret I told my mother and she told me to keep this to myself until I became older. Now as I get older, I feel that I shall be better known in years to come. I am confident that my dream-vision power will bring me success throughout life since the Creator does not abandon his children to whom he had entrusted such gifts. By this I have learned to work out my own salvation, knowing that the Indian wholly depends upon the talent allotted to him by the Creator. These experiences fully qualify me to lead in the Big House if I choose to do so. My brothers do not know this but they suspect that I have a vision to relate. Some day they may have the pleasure of hearing it when the opportunity offers.

DELAWARE PRACTITIONERS

Delaware herbalists are of two classes:[6] (1) "one who knows [medicine] well" and (2) "one who uses medicine for magic purposes."[7] It is believed that to the former is entrusted the knowledge of the healing properties of plants as well as the methods of preparing and administering them as medicine. These practitioners are usually women

---

[6] Heckewelder (1876, p. 228) refers to the herbalists as "physicians and surgeons" and says in part: "By these names I wish to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing them." Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 24) does not classify the Indian doctors but writes, "There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs, learned from their fathers, and who bring about relief."

[7] *Ibid,* p. 231. Heckewelder, in discussing this type has chosen to call them "doctors or juggler," for which he gives the following reasons: "These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions of a superior knowledge. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has risen up among them who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizards or witches, and expel evil spirits."

262 757 nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

844 262 In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

841 262 [753] During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[33] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

DIVINATORY CURING PRACTICES

● 787 278 Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

[237] When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

---

[33] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was 787
dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water 778
and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would
not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died
in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped 778
from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current.
A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an
emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, 787
certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to com- 791
municate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell
coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling,"
and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the
future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's [776]
guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those
who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night.
Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for 791
a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to
locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to
have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile search-
ing by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming
converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally per- [787]
suaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian [778]
church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian,
forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Dela-
ware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his
tribesmen, was gone forever.

Wi·tapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to 791
possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able 787
to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of
persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

---

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

791 787 team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

763 787 775 So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

THE SWEATING RITE

757 796 The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[28] and by more recent students.[29] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin,* a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhot'olzing.* This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

---

[28] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[29] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

757 cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating
sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat
756 doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine
757 or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

787 Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from
756 the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring
usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by
759 a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of
343 considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built
of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck,
1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the
[772] Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

---

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

778 sacred objects are wrapped in buckskin or cloth to protect them against exposure to unclean surroundings that might tend to defile such objects of sacred authorship.

778 787 The way in which such supernatural tokens are obtained by their owners is illustrated by the following. Once a man dreamed of seeing a plant, called by the Delaware, "frost" or "ice weed." He heard a voice which said to him, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I stay green longer in the fall. Use me and I will make you strong." The man then went out and obtained a specimen of the plant for his medicine bundle. In another case a boy saw a horned toad in his vision and knew that it was to be his guiding spirit. He went out in search of a horned toad and finding one, picked it up, saying, "Give me your horn." At the command the toad gave the youth his horn which the latter kept until an old man.

778 The medicine bundle is the most highly cherished material possession of a chief, warrior or medicine man. He may possess one or more bundles which he has the privilege later of bestowing upon another. This seldom occurs until a man has reached an advanced age, the period at which he feels inclined to transfer his power and supernatural tokens to a younger man. The person chosen to be the recipient of this sacred gift must be spiritually and physically clean. He is called into conference with the older man several times before the actual transfer is made. Then it is given to him with the admonition that he must use the power wisely and keep the bundle from defilement to avoid forfeiture of the sacred gifts. At times medicine bundles are not transferred through the lack of a youth competent to deal with matters of spiritual import. In such a case the bundle is buried with the owner. Or, at the request of the owner, a bundle is given to a relative or to one of his own class, *i. e.*, a doctor or a warrior. Among the Delaware, medicine bundles are never sold.

778 787 Medicine charms are believed to be extremely potent in the hands of their owners. A man may commune with his guardian by means of these material agents and thus secure spiritual guidance and aid in regard to problems of a worldly character. Thus the medicine man seeks knowledge during his diagnosis of the often perplexing cases brought to his attention; the hunter, his mind filled with a keen desire for success in the quest of game, concentrates on the token of his supernatural helper during his appeal to the Giver of Game through prayer. Similarly, the

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief 778
seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general. [787]

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks
to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter [754]
by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

THE MEDICINE STONE

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants 778
is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the 825
Orient[86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the
term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound [752]
made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for
another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pro- 778
nounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused 755
in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Wi·tapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

---

[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

757 278 74. **Motherwort** *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. **False Solomon's Seal** *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. **May Apple** *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

[302 386] 77. **Bloodroot** *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware.

78. **Dandelion** *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. **Virginia Snakeroot** *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. **Fringed Gentian** *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. **Black Snakeroot** *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. **Milkweed** *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

751 757 278 787 83. **Peyote** *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Wi·tapanóxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

---

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delaware at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

[751]
757
278
[787]

domestic and tribal crises. Wi·tapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[8]

84. CACTUS *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Wi·tapanóxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief. 757
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions. [751]
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value. 752
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat"[9] This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects. 757 863 278
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child. 757
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood. 752
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes. 757 278

---

[8] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness. [171]

[9] Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

757 278 11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

[752] 12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

[752] 15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

231 16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

WARRIOR'S MEDICINE

778 726 [787] Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

---

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even 845
though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent.

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced diffi- 845
culties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a 826
dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." [789]
All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen.

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse 853
with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have 837
diarrhea.

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of 854
children.

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[30] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[31]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

---

[30] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[31] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal [888]
would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. 302

754 prepare a magical snare by which to entrap the boastful widower. He set the snare at the doorstep of the house and went in and sat down. However, a visitor was heard approaching, and my grandfather quickly removed the snare so that an innocent person would not be harmed. Afterwards the invisible snare was reset and the intended victim stepped over it. Immediately after he suffered a congestive chill and by night, he was dead. His wife's corpse was still unburied and the day after her funeral, her husband's body was laid away. My grandfather did this to show that supernatural forces did exist to punish inhuman boasting. His people regarded this as an act of conjuring rather than witchcraft.

Persons who possessed the power of bewitchment were obliged to take at least the life of one human every year. During their annual meeting, if any witches had failed to do so, they deliberated upon the choice of a victim at that time. The belief was held by the Delaware that failure to do so would result in misfortune for the witch or his family through sudden illness or accident. Before a witch died, he must transfer his medicine to another to prevent the uncontrolled evil power from reacting upon a member of his family.

DREAMS

787 ALL DREAMS are regarded as significant by the Delaware. Some indicate good fortune and long life, while others fortell sickness and death. One type of dream of unusual significance is known by a term translated as "to dream ahead." Thus to dream of berries, fruit, or vegetation during the winter season is a sign that the dreamer will live to see the fruits of many seasons. To dream of snow at any time of the year is an indication of long life.

It is believed that the recurrence of the same dream for several nights is a sign of important news or even impending danger. In one such case, mentioned by Wi·tapanóxwe, his deceased parents appeared to him on six consecutive nights to warn him of an event which occurred a number of years later.

Long ago dreams were particularly significant to the Delaware hunter. Always in search of game animals for food, he was often led by the animal supernaturals in dreams to the secret places of the game. Upon awakening the hunter would offer a prayer and sacrifice a pinch of tobacco in his camp fire. Then he would follow the trail indicated to him in the dream.

787 [553] It is customary for the Delaware to learn in dreams names suitable for their children. During the later stages of pregnancy, the mid-wife or an old man is asked to think of a name and that revealed in a dream is later given to the child. Such a person need not necessarily be of the child's immediate relatives. Occasionally a gift is made him for this service.

To dream of catching fish in clear water is an indication that the dreamer will soon receive a sum of money. To dream of muddy water, on the other hand, is a sign of approaching illness or domestic difficulty.

To avert unpleasant dreams, a person smokes and prays to the Creator, appealing to him for aid in propitiating the supernatural powers responsible for such dreams. Cedar is also burned in the house to cleanse it. If a child is troubled by dreams at night, cedar boughs are soaked in water which is sprinkled over his person and the bed. This is believed to keep evil spirits away.

The more conservative Delaware have always been dependent upon dreams, and the appearance of certain celestial phenomena to warn them of impending danger. The appearance of a comet, "war spirit," in the heavens, is a sign of war. The "war dragon" flies through the air at night and appears like a streak of fire. The direction towards which its course is bent, is noted as the source of trouble. My informant reminded me of the appearance of such (Halley's comet) before the outbreak of the first World War. A falling star is also significant in war time. A fugitive attempting to escape may be located by means of a falling star, which the Delaware believe points to the spot of concealment. To point to a falling star will bring bad luck to a person.

NATURAL SIGNS AND OMENS

[821] A FEW BELIEFS of miscellaneous character are noted for other natural phenomena. The two ends of the rainbow are believed to point to water. A snowfall late in the spring, with the wind to the north, indicates that the snow spirit is returning to his abode in the north. In the fall an abundance of berries and nuts, thick foliage and heavy corn husks all point to a long and severe winter.

[761] A ringing or buzzing sound in the ear is a sign of impending death or bad news. The ear in which the sound is heard indicates the direction from which the news may be expected.

787 The twitching of the left eye, in the case of my informant, is a warn-
761 ing of the death of a relative or friend. This takes place two weeks or two months prior to the individual's death.

To see the suddenly disappearing likeness of a person is also a warning of death.

If a wolf barks at a person, it is an indication that he will live long.

Once Wi·tapanóxwe, upon returning from the home of a sick person, saw a rabbit run from the shelter of a grave towards the house he had just left. To him it was a sign of the sick person's death in the near future.

787 Babies and small children are not allowed to cry at night nor older children to play after dark, for fear that their faces will become misshapen.

A "double crown" in an individual is an indication of longevity and superior intellect. The larger such features are, the longer is the possession to live and enjoy the blessings bestowed upon him by the Creator. An individual so blessed is assured of spiritual guidance and is likely to excel in his life work.

If chickens continue to scratch for food during a rain, it is an indica-
787 tion that the rain will continue for some time. A cock crowing during a
821 storm says, "Going to clear off today." Crowing before midnight by the bird indicates a change of weather. Crowing on the doorstep brings a visitor.

If smoke from a fire rises during a storm, the rain will soon cease; if it hovers near the ground, the weather will continue unsettled.

If the sun casts slanting rays through the clouds, it is "drawing water." Rain will fall the following day.

When the wind blows the leaves "inside out," it is a sign of approaching rain.

A circle around the moon foretells an approaching storm. The number of stars within the circle indicates the time it will arrive.

To hear the sound of talking or cutting wood over a great distance indicates that a storm is brewing.

To see a hog carrying sticks of wood in its mouth is a sign of approaching rain.

"Three foggy mornings bring rain."

Thunder heard late in the winter foretells an early spring.

Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw. 787 [821]

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one. 262 [753]

MAIZE

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.*, pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful 262 773

---

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families 224
to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to
their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted
to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their
calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the
eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer
for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this
cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76).

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, 224
beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only 223
type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes
killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by
cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when
the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17).

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly 224
in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particu- 412
larly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities
(Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, 411
p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and
knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found
in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20;
Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71).

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the 224
reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their
sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the
season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing.
All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold
(Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting
until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of [787]
success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was
believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired
on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208).

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agri- 241
culture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which
the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson,
p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of
the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in
an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says
that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits
of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references
to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3]
(Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74).

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of [313
any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising
the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they 412]

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment 861 was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, 857 p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). 787 To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this 582 they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe 868 the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she 881 stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then [582] considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something 582 upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..." (Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that [582] this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire 796
while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43). [782]

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that [224]
"...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. 787
"...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible 778
powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).15

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and 775
that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. [774]
The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices [782]
which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6;Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CHAPTER II

Minor Deities

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last 776
chapter are merely representa- 778
tions of a supernatural being,
and are not supposed to be the
dwellings of a spirit or spirits except
when worn by an impersonator, who is [287]
said to become imbued with the spirit
when the mask is donned; nor are they
usually supposed to possess inherent
power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. But the Lenape had also a class of
images, usually of wood, representing the
human form, which were supposed to
possess life, or at least to be the residence
of spirits, which, so far as can be learned,
had no separate existence. They were
supposed to understand what was said
to them, and to have the power of pro-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

776 was commonly said in the tribe that on
782 account of these practices the Lenape
821 suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to.*

SNOW BOY

Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a
776 being who is supposed to control snow
821 and ice, but who is different from "Our
Grandfather at the North," who merely
supplies the north wind. Offerings were
[782] made to Snow Boy to insure a proper
amount of snow for tracking in the winter
hunt. Further information concerning
these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found
in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now
in preparation.

COMET

There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'-
nato,* which some Lenape say means
"Comet," others "Shooting Star." When
● [787] a war is impending, says the legend, this
being may be seen flying through the air,
carrying a bunch of human heads. After
Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will
hear a distant rumbling sound, for this
manĭ'to knows beforehand where the

775 globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball, but this is not the true spirit.

The Minsi seem to have retained a more archaic belief, for they say that the Land of Spirits lies to the southwest, in a country of good hunting. Here they say, the wigwams of the spirits are always neat and clean, and happiness prevails. But between our world and the spirit country flows a river which the spirit must cross on a slender foot-log or in a canoe.

GHOSTS AND MEDIUMSHIP

775 787 Ghosts do not seem always to have left the earth at the expiration of the twelve days, or else they have the power of returning, for the Lenape claim that boys, dreaming for power, have sometimes been pitied and given some blessing by the ghosts, who remained their guardian spirits through life. Such people were considered to have the power of talking with the departed and sometimes made a practice of it, but mediumship was by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

no means confined to them. Among the Minsi formerly they were accustomed to hold meetings in the burial grounds at certain times, when some medium, it is said, would communicate with the spirits. 775 787

The late James Wolf, one of the principal Minsi informants, was said to have this power. One time a man was drowned in the Thames river near Munceytown in Ontario, and the body could not be located. Wolf, it is said, walked up and down the river-banks, with a companion, talking to the water. At last a strange sound was heard, and Wolf stopped. "That was the dead man's spirit," he said; "the body lies right over in that hole." Surely enough, when they procured a boat, they found the body in the hole, wedged beneath a sunken log.

Certain regular ceremonies were held by both the Unami and the Minsi in honor of the dead, and will be discussed in a later paper. 769

775 souls of men. The main channel of communication between this great supernatural realm and mankind was, to the
[787] Lenape as to so many other tribes of Indians, the dream or vision, experienced either while fasting or in natural sleep. This subject will be considered in the next chapter.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CHAPTER IV

Visions and Guardian Spirits

THE most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely, perhaps, so vivid or well-developed as we find them here. The vision was the point of contact, the channel of communication, in Lenape belief, between the great and marvelous supernatural world and the sphere of everyday human life. In a vision the youth first found his guardian spirit, to whom he would always appeal, as his own special friend in the supernatural hierarchy, for aid and comfort in time of trouble, and for the revelation of coming events. He felt that this being took a close personal interest in his

776
787

776
787

affairs, while the greater gods, including the Great Spirit himself, were so remote and so occupied with controlling more important things that they might not notice or concern themselves with the affairs of one individual man. Therefore the bulk of his prayers and offerings went to his guardian spirit. If a Lenape won great success on a war expedition or a hunting trip, he was sure the spirit had helped him; if unlucky, he believed that for some reason his guardian had become estranged, or had been overpowered by superior and malevolent forces. A man might become a sorcerer or a shaman at the behest of his guardian spirit, given in a dream or vision, or change his mode of life in other ways. Not every Lenape was blessed with such a guardian; yet many were so favored, usually in their boyhood days. To be eligible for supernatural favor, the youth had to *pi'lsü*^{n}, or pure, which means that not only must he be chaste, but that he must have kept strictly all the taboos against eating food prepared by

women in their periodic condition, etc. 776
Old Lenape say that, as the children of 787
the tribe are reared nowadays in the same way as the whites, they can no longer be *pi'lsū*^{n}, and the Powers will speak to them no more. This is a sad matter, for it means the loss of their principal ancient ceremonies, at which only those blessed with a vision can take active part. The old people feel it keenly that there will be no one left to conduct the rites when the last of their generation has been laid away.

INITIATION OF BOYS

Parents were especially anxious, of 787
course, that their sons should have super- 881
natural aid, hence, when a boy reached the age of about twelve years, they would frequently pretend to abuse him, and would drive him, fasting, out into the forest to shift as best he might, in the hope that some *manĭ'to* would take pity on the suffering child and grant him some power or blessing that would be his dependence through life.

787 881 Sometimes a man who had several sons would take them out into the forest and build them a rude little tent, and here they would remain for days at a time. During the day the boys were not permitted to eat, but just before sunrise every morning each was given a medicine to make him vomit, after which a tiny piece of meat was given him, about the size of a man's little finger. Occasionally the boys became able to fast in this way for twelve days, at the end of which time, the Lenape say, some had received such power that they were able to rise into the air, or go down into the ground, or prophesy events a year or two ahead, with the magic aid of the supernatural being that had taken pity on them.

OTHER VISIONS

787 It sometimes happened also that people received visions of power in natural sleep without fasting, or even when wide awake, while feeling melancholy and heartsick over the death of a loved one, or suffering other misfortune or trouble.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

As they sat brooding, some *mani'to* might address himself to them, and give them advice and comfort, or endow them with some kind of power. Women occasionally had visions of this kind. 787 ●

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Whatever the precise circumstances of its appearance, the guardian spirit in many instances was said to show itself first in human form, and it was only when it turned to leave that its real shape (of an animal, for instance) was noticed by the recipient of its blessing. Sometimes the interview was quite long and the directions given by the *mani'to* (for ceremonies, etc.) quite explicit; on other occasions they were very vague and cryptic. Frequently, according to the stories told, some tangible object, called by the Unami the *opi'na*, or blessing, was handed by the *mani'to* to the recipient of his favor, who usually swallowed it. Some recipients were called on, however, to make and keep some symbol of their protector, which was

776
787

[789]

776 787 [789] usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

533 554 776 787 **Favored Individuals.**—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

787 Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Unami Examples.—One old man named Pokite'hemun ("Breaker"), known to the whites in Oklahoma as George Wilson, saw in his vision what seemed to be a man who held out to him a white round object like a boy's marble, then tossed it to him. Pokite'hemun caught it and swallowed it. Then as it turned to go, the being cried "*Kwank! kwank! kwank!* The ducks have a praying meeting in the fall of the year!" As it turned, Pokite'hemun noticed that it was really a duck instead of a man, and was colored half black and half white.[29] 787 ●

Pokite'hemun could pound on his chest at any time and apparently cough up a round marble-like object, which he would show in his hand and then appear to swallow again. This he claimed was the *opi'na* given by his guardian spirit.

He seemed to regard the words of the duck spirit as an admonition to do all he could to keep up the tribal Annual Ceremony, which was held in the fall; while the "blessing" gave him good 533 539 787

533
539
787

fortune. The chant he composed for use at this ceremony is as follows:

Lawulĕnjei
Wŭ^{n}jegŭk loxweyu
Kwĕ^{n}nanowagŭ^n
Waila^{n}goma^{n}ole
Lĕnape, elĭ nanŭ^n
Telowa^n, lowa^n
Nu^{n}ni, ĕndageko
Lowael, lowa nŭ^{n}ni.

The interpreter's translation, which is a somewhat free one, follows:

"When he opened his hand
Something came out of the center
That's his blessing
(For?) our kinfolks, the

Lenape; because that
Is what he said, he did say
This, when
He spoke, he said this."

Then came the dance song:

He-e-e-e nehani
Lalama^{n}ne
Nehani lama^{n}ne
Kwe^{n}nanowagŭn, nowagŭn
Hayela^{n}goma^n
Gweheycha
Gehe!

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This, according to the interpreter, means 533
simply, when stripped of its superfluous 539
syllables, "We own a temple—his blessing 787
—our kinfolks."

Another man saw in his boyhood vision the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, or Living Solid Face, riding on a deer. I was unable to get the details of their meeting, or the chant, but this is the dance song:

Hehotawege'na
Hotowege'na
Xingâlo'pai awhe'wani
Mĭsinghâli'kŭn
Hâli'kŭne
A-he'-he-he'!

This, the interpreter said, means "Riding it, riding it, big buck deer, this one, Mĭsinghâli'kŭn!" Seldom do the songs or chants refer so definitely to the protector as does this.

A third Lenape, when a boy, was sent out to the corn-field to drive away the crows. As he stood by the field he saw them flying around to light on a tree near by. Suddenly someone spoke to him, and among the things said (which

533
539
787

were not revealed to me) were the words "I like this Lenape food," referring to the corn. The boy thought a man was addressing him, until the person suddenly flew away in the form of a crow, crying "*Ha! Ha! Ha!*" I failed to get the Indian words for the song, and my informant did not remember the chant, but the translation of the song was given as follows:

"I like this Lenape food:"
I never knew a crow said that
Till the crow was cawing
"Ha! Ha! Ha!"

A fourth had seen some kind of an animal in his vision, but never told any of his tribesmen what it was. His song, as now remembered, was translated thus:

Come, follow me,
I am going
Out into the country.

A fifth had "Mother Corn" (the Corn Spirit) for a guardian, but only part of his song is remembered.

"All my children
Are glad when I come out!"

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Some people were helped by the spirits of the dead in the same way that others received aid from animal or other nature spirits. 775 787

"Old man" Secondine, now dead, a well known Oklahoma Lenape, was one of these. When a boy his parents drove him out in the woods, as was the custom, in the hope that he might receive a supernatural helper. After wandering about for a time, he took refuge in a large hollow tree, and made that his camping place. Before long he was visited by apparitions of persons he knew to be dead, who took pity on his starving condition, and brought him food which they had taken at night from the houses of the living, this being the way that disembodied spirits are supposed to get nourishment when visiting the scenes of their earthly life. In the meantime his parents were unable to find him, and searched for him without avail until the ghosts finally revealed to them his camping place, and then he was brought safely home. Ever afterward he claimed the

775
787
ghosts as his guardians, and like others blessed with this kind of helpers, was said to hold some kind of communication with the departed.

787
Minsi Examples.—The late James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, was said to possess this power, as was stated in the preceding chapter. He had, moreover, received another vision when a boy, but had made little, if any, use of it, because of his profession of Christianity. One time in his boyhood days, he told me, he thought or dreamed (he was not asleep at the time) that there was no water in the river, and that he went down into its bed and found only one little hole containing water. In this was a creature resembling a catfish, yet somewhat different, and near it was an ordinary crayfish, while on the surface of the water walked a number of little flies. The boy thinking what he had seen was real, ran home in haste to tell his father. The father walked down with him to see, but stopped on the bank where

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

the edge of the water had been, while the 787 boy ran on down to his pool. The river-bed seemed dry to him, but his father would not come, saying that the river was full of water. The boy then came out and they started for home, but before they were out of sight, the lad looked back. To his surprise, the river was full as usual.

The father, who was Flying Wolf, a noted Minsi warrior, had been favored himself, when a boy, with a rather unusual sort of vision, which James Wolf related to me, as nearly as possible the way the old man used to tell it at the Annual Ceremony.

"When I was a boy, I was once fast asleep on a hill near a little creek. Someone said, 'Wake up! Let us go where our friends are!' So I got up and followed him across the little creek and up a hill, where I saw six men sitting on a log. Then I went up and shook hands with them all. After they had shaken hands with me they all danced around in [533] a ring." At this point he used to sing [539] one verse of his dance song—

6

787
[533]
[539]

Wĕmi wango^{n}towak ḳewiha
All greet one another
Yoki lĕnape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-ĕ!

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are [776]

776
787

recorded above, one would think that the six wolf-men must have become Flying Wolf's protectors, but instead, it was a Thunder Being that became his principal guardian, whose participation in the vision is merely inferred from the mention in the speech of the black cloud and the lightning. Evidently this Thunder Being was not offended when Flying Wolf told his guides that he would rather go toward the clear sky than toward the black cloud.

The Minsi say that when Flying Wolf recited his vision in the Big House ceremonies, he moved everyone, some even to tears. After he had finished, they say, a thunder-shower would almost always rise. He would become strangely excited when the dark clouds began to bank up on the horizon and spread themselves over the land. Stripping himself to the breechcloth, he was ready to go out when the storm broke, for he would never stay beneath a roof at such a time. He loved to expose his body to the driving gusts of wind and rain; the appalling

776
787

roar was music to his ears; while the lighting, to the eyes of the frightened onlookers, seemed to play about his very body. He used to say that if he stayed indoors the lightning display would be so terrible that the others in the house could not endure it. No wonder they used to say of him, "*Piles'waʟ pewaʻlatcil!*" "He is in league with the Thunders!" , or better, perhaps, "The Thunders will protect him!"

Within the memory of Minsi now living in Canada there were two members of the tribe who claimed the Sun spirit, *Ki'zho* (or *Ki'zhox*) as their protector. One of these was known as "Old man" Halfmoon, the other as "Muncey John" Henry. Halfmoon, it is said, when he wished to appear as a warrior, would sometimes hold his bare hands up toward the flaming face of his guardian, then rub the palms down his cheeks. When he removed his hands, it was seen that his face, clean before, was now painted in brilliant colors! "Surely," the people cried, "this man is in league with the Sun!"

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

EARLY REFERENCES | 77

776
787 ●

That the idea of a tangible 'blessing' is found among the Minsi, as well as among the Unami, is shown in certain of their traditions.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.—*Brainerd.*—Brainerd seems to have been about the first author to recognize in any degree the importance of the dream or vision in Lenape religious belief. He says:[40]

> "They give much heed to *dreams*, because they suppose that these invisible powers give them directions at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what *animal* they would choose to be worshipped in."

Other remarks by Brainerd on the same general topic were quoted in the preceding chapter.

Zeisberger.—Zeisberger[41] also devotes a paragraph to it, in which he says:

> "Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft has

AND MONOGRAPHS

776
787

been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing on which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."

Loskiel.—Loskiel's account[42] seems largely derived from the above. He remarks:

> "The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; But those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."

Heckewelder.—Heckewelder[43] devotes a whole chapter to the subject, under the head of "Initiation of Boys," to which

776
787

the reader is referred, as it is all of interest, but can not be reproduced here. I will merely quote portions of one paragraph, which will serve to show that this author found approximately similar ideas as had his predecessors, concepts which still exist among the Lenape.

> "When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting . . . so that he sees, or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams. Then he has interviews with the Manitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born, and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjuror or a prophet."

Later in the chapter Heckewelder mentions the fact that persons favored with such dreams considered themselves under the protection of the "celestial powers," and mentions the "strength, the power, and the courage" conveyed to them, but lays more stress on the prophetic side of these visions than on the actual

776
787

aid rendered, according to Lenape belief, by the supernatural guardians.

Adams.—From Heckewelder's time to the present, I know of but one writer, besides myself, who describes, from his own observation, the Lenape belief in visions and guardian spirits. This is R. C. Adams,[41] himself of Delaware blood, whose notes may be found in the volume on Indians of the United States Census Report for 1890 (p. 298 et seq.). He says:

> "It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit."

Having now considered the very foundation of Lenape religion, we may turn with better understanding, to their great Annual Ceremony.

537 reason that people are told to help always
539 the cripples or the blind. Whatever you
796x do for them will surely bring its reward.
Whatever you do for anybody will bring you credit hereafter. Whenever we think the thoughts that Gicelĕmû''kaong has given us, it will do us good.

"This is all I can think of to say along this line. Now we will pass the Turtle around, and all that feel like worshiping may take it and perform their ceremonies."

Some nights the speaker says more, sometimes less, just as he feels, but he always tries to tell it as he heard it from the old people who came before him.

RECITAL OF VISIONS

787 Now, as was stated, these meetings are
796x "brought in" by individuals; that is a
certain person, usually a man, undertakes to arrange for the meeting and to lead the ceremonies. This person must be one of those gifted by a vision or dream of power in their youth, and hence, according to Lenape belief, one in communication with the supernatural world.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. I), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

614
787 ●
796 x
[292]

[237]
[534]

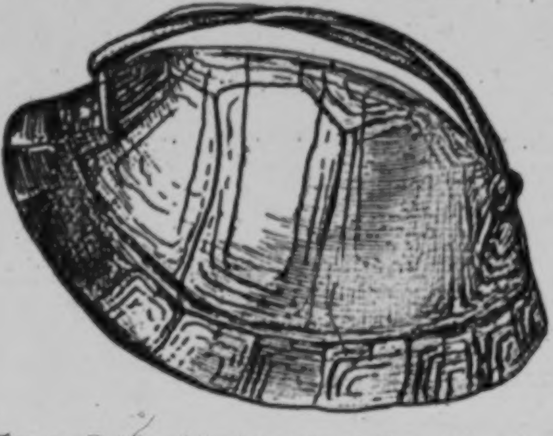


FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

614
•787
796
[534]

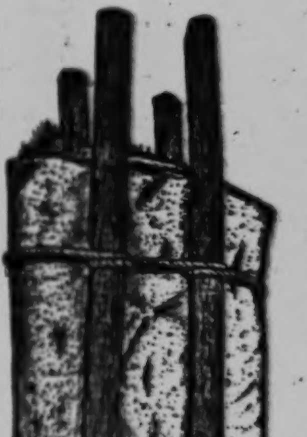


FIG. 10.—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length 38.2 in.)

"brought in" by a member of the Wolf division.

After the chief's speech, the leader arises from his place just north of the central post, and, rapidly shaking a rattle (*taxo'xi cowŭni'gŭn*) made of a box-tortoise shell (fig. 9), recites his vision in a high monotone, word by word. After he utters each word, he pauses an instant to give the singers sitting at the rolled dry

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

deerskin called *powŭni'gŭn* which serves 614
as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat 787●
the same word in the same tone, which
produces an extraordinary effect. When 796x
he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly
on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a
number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of 533
his song in the same way, and the
drummers, having learned the words, 787
sing them to a dance tune, beating the 796x
drum in slower time. After dancing 535
awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they
stop; then another similar verse, if not
the same, is recited and then sung.

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes 533
the turtleshell to the next man who has 787
been blessed with a vision. This one 796x
has the privilege of singing his vision if
he wishes; if not, it is handed to the
next "dreamer." After a celebrant has
taken his seat, it is customary for those [276]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

533 who desire it to smoke until the next
● 787 man is ready to commence. At this
796x time also it is considered proper for the
[276] people to enter or leave the Big House,
which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

252 Now, when the man who started the
ceremonies begins to dance, that is a
796x signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or
attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meet-
264 ing is about to close. Then the repast
796x of hominy or corn mush called *sä'pan* is

WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the 796x
women to relate their visions; but before
they begin, the speaker orders the at- [787]
tendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to
inhale the smoke and purify themselves. [783]
Then two women are ordered to take,
one a little bark dish (*a^{n}sipta'gän*) of [915]
red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple
and go to each person present. One dips [302]
her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

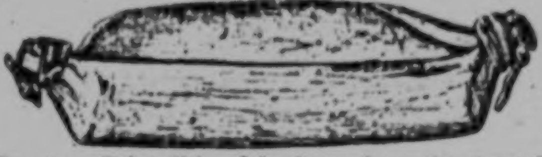


Fig. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ashes from the fire are always taken out at the
west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. 796x
In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services.

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, 796x
and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any
way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak 825
and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice.
It is believed by the Delawares that every one
has a guardian spirit which comes in the form [776]
of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit.

"Traditions say that 10 years before white 173
men came to this country (America) a young man
told his dream in the temple. This was on the 796x
Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great 787
waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The ceremony, which was called *MuxhatoL'sing*, seems, from the accounts 796x
given the writer by his informants, to have taken place in a similar building, and to have been similar in ritual to that just described, except that it was held for only eight days instead of twelve, and that, after the return of the hunters the skin of one of the deer they had brought in was stuffed with grass and stood up by the central post of the Big House, antlers and all, while about its neck hung a string of wampum—perhaps as a propitiatory offering.

Moreover on the morning of the last 787 ●
day of the ceremony a large sweathouse 796x
was built and stones heated; then about [343]
noon the men who had been reciting their visions went into it, each taking one of the hot stones with him. This privilege was not confined to the actual celebrants however, for every one blessed by a guardian spirit even if they had not sung their visions in the meeting, was entitled to carry in a stone and join them.

The entrance was then closed and

787 796x water poured upon the stones; and while the steam rose and the sweathouse grew hotter and hotter the perspiring occupants prayed to their guardian spirits and recited their visions. These finished, with a shout of "There go our prayers to Those Above," the cover was suddenly snatched from the sweathouse so that the steam it had contained rose in a puff. If the steam cloud went straight up into the air it was thought that the prayers would be heard and answered, and that all was well, but if it broke and spread out the people felt that something had gone wrong, and that their prayers were of no avail.

184 796x In endeavoring to explain the presence of such variations of the Annual Ceremony, it should be remembered that the Lenape now in Oklahoma whom the writer has called for convenience "Unami," are not really pure descendants of this tribe, but probably have a large proportion of the blood of the Unalaχtko or Unalachtigo, whose dialect, according to Heckewelder, was very similar, and a-

were carried out. "The Sun and every-
346 thing else goes toward the west," say the
796^{x} Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead
[775] when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

The first act remembered by the infor-
796^{x} mants preparatory to holding a meeting
was to send to each man in the tribe
[787] who had been blessed by a "vision of
[202] power," a little stick which represented
an invitation to the ceremony, the time
of which the messenger gave out, before
which date the people leaving their
scattered homes gathered and camped
about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

Fire.—The fire was made with a fire-
372 drill by a group of old men for use in the
796^{x} Big House, but, as among the Unami,

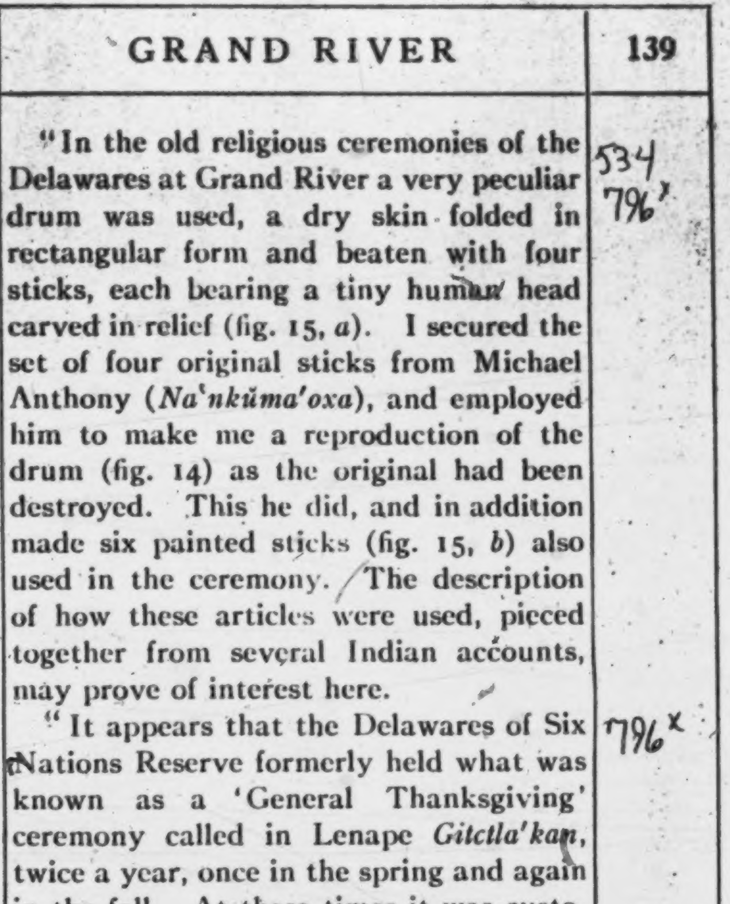
6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

RECITAL OF VISIONS

The first man to relate his vision (my 787 ●
informant did not remember whether 796 x
he was the one who "brought in" the
meeting or not) took up the turtle rattle
from its place at the foot of the post and
began to shake it rapidly, while the singers
struck the drum of dry hide. He then
recited the story of his vision of power, [534]
still keeping the rattle shaking, following [535]
this with his dance song, at the same time
dancing and rattling the turtle-shell.

Any one who wished to dance was supposed to give wampum to the vision-teller for the privilege. Some who were well off would give him an entire string, others merely a few beads. These the vision-teller would take, when he had quite a handful, to two officers who sat in a corner of the building, whose duty it was to count the wampum, after which it was kept by the chief or leader. Sometimes if a poor person who had no wampum wished to dance, they would give him some to pay the vision-teller.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape



"In the old religious ceremonies of the Delawares at Grand River a very peculiar drum was used, a dry skin folded in rectangular form and beaten with four sticks, each bearing a tiny human head carved in relief (fig. 15, *a*). I secured the set of four original sticks from Michael Anthony (*Naʿnkŭma'oxa*), and employed him to make me a reproduction of the drum (fig. 14) as the original had been destroyed. This he did, and in addition made six painted sticks (fig. 15, *b*) also used in the ceremony. The description of how these articles were used, pieced together from several Indian accounts, may prove of interest here. 534 796'

"It appears that the Delawares of Six Nations Reserve formerly held what was known as a 'General Thanksgiving' ceremony called in Lenape *Gitctla'kan*, twice a year, once in the spring and again in the fall. At these times it was customary to meet in the Cayuga long-house, borrowed for the occasion. At a certain point in the proceedings (I shall not attempt a consecutive description from 796x 787• 796x

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796x hearsay testimony) a man stood up and
recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone,
[787] his dream—the vision of power seen by
him in his youth. Na'nkŭma'oxa remembered
how one old man was accustomed
to tell about a duck, half black
and half white, which had appeared to
him. Between the verses of the dream
[533] four musicians kneeling at the drum
pw'awahe'gŭn) began a plaintive song,
beating time with the carved sticks
(*pw'awahe'gŭnŭk*). As they sang, the
[535] reciter swayed his body to and fro,
while a group of dancers gathered on the
floor behind him danced with a sidewise
step. Before the ceremony, poles were
laid lengthwise along both sides of the
council house, and against these, at
intervals, three on a side, the painted
sticks, called *mkäähi'gŭn*, were laid. If
anyone in the crowd felt 'especially
happy' he was privileged to strike with
one of these sticks upon one of the poles
in time to the music. The carved heads
532 on the drumsticks meant that human
796x beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

177
769
796^{x}

mants thought, as the Peyote rite, and, like it, probably from the Washita River region.

Wilson would call a dance every now and then during his lifetime, at which the people appeared in their everyday dress, without such special costumes as were seen, for instance, at such functions among the Kiowa and the Arapaho. At these meetings the participants would dance round and round for a long time, with a sidewise step, to the sound of song and water-drum, sometimes for a considerable period without stopping. Occasionally one would fall and appear to faint, and when revived would claim to have visited Heaven in spirit while his body lay as if dead. When Wilson died, the cult, so far as the Delawares were concerned, perished with him.

[787]

Such were the ceremonies surviving until recent times among the Lenape, from which have been omitted only the observances connected with the dead, shamanism, witchcraft, and war, all of which will be discussed in later papers.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

771 moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were
776 thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

771 This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

[776] There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

771 The main channel of communication
787 between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers. 771 787

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony. [554]

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death, 771 775

THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i′ŋk·aⁿn*, "Opossum 796ˣ Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk‘ce′p‘ti·e′xk·aⁿn*; literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no [424] definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited [787] dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano′xwe's mother by a certain Mi·mα′ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano′xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·mα′ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from [602] members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was [534] provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or [533]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XV.

CONCERNING THE PAAHRA, IDOLATRY, FAITH AND RELIGION AND SACRIFICES TO MANITTO: THE DEVIL, ALSO WHETHER THE INDIANS HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it 778
is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to 783
touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his 784
chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a 787

---

[1] *Pâdhra (pôra)*. This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-*, *pu-*, *bao-*, *pow-*, etc. *Boahigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pôra, bôla)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism*, *Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc.; *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Merabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Berettelse* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

● 787 strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3]
he will at once the following day be able to shoot
as much game and catch as much fish as ever he
wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to
it.[4]

224 The first hunt which the savages arrange in the
spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then
can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they
do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt
offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they
will that year have good luck in hunting and
shooting.

773 They do, however, know a little historically
773 about Christ, which they consider a fable. When
797 the old savages are to tell the Christians what
passed in former times, they say that it has been
told them from times immemorial by their fathers
and forefathers, who have said that it was, once
in former time, one of our savage women who
became pregnant by going and drinking in a
brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any
connection with her, yet she became pregnant and
gave birth to a son. And when that one became
[804] somewhat large, something like this,—he measures
with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of
age or years. "Yes, that was a polite[6] and clever

Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

79.	Tell tribe and number by examining encampment †				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
80.	Different from other tribes in color								+	–	+	–	+
81.	language						·	·	+	+	+	+	+
82.	religious tenets						·	·	+	+	+	+	+
83.	greater degree of sociability, friendship, hospitality						+	·	·	*+	*+	+	+
84.	Suppose themselves to be different (better)						+	·	+	+	±	+	+
85.	Women's condition easy and contented					+	+	·	–	·	+	+	+
86.	Women obliged to do all the drudgery					–	–	·	+	–	–	–	–
87.	considered as menial servants of men					–	–	·	+	–	–	–	–
88.	Spare lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them †		–			+	+	+	+	+	·	–	+
	Birth and its incidents												
89.	Any ceremony at naming of child †				+		–	+	+	+	–	–	+
90.	Any particular age of naming †			*+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–
91.	Names are descriptive				+	+		+		*+		s	+
92.	chosen by parents				+	+			+	+	+	s	·
93.	from dreams of parents or grandparents				+		*+			–		*+	+
94.	taken from father						–	+	s	–		–	
95.	taken from mother		+				–		s	–		–	
96.	taken from grandparents						–		+	–		–	
97.	Individual has more than one name				–		s	–	–	–	–	*–	*–
98.	Change later in life				+	+	+	+		–	–	–	–
99.	Individual selects						+	+					
100.	Generally unwilling to tell their names				+		–	+	+	–	+	+	–
101.	Call one another by their names in their youth within the family	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102.	Children address parents by titles	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103.	Education consists of teaching how to hunt, instruction in religion and general advice			+	+	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	+	+
104.	Restraint over children				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
105.	Corporeal punishment †	(–)			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106.	Definite age at which childhood ceases †						–	+	+	+	·	+	+
107.	Children ever adopted by near relatives				*(–)		*–	+	–	*+	+	+	+
108.	Orphans taken in without adoption by nearest relatives						+	–	+	–	+		+
109.	by maternal grandparents						–	+	–	–			–
110.	by paternal grandparents												+
111.	by anyone in particular next						–	–	–	–		–	–
112.	Are considered to belong to family with or without adoption				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	

597 856 868 861 576 787 551 553 784 562 142 621

386. War chief determines question of battle						+	+	•+	+		+	
387. Plan of operations previously arranged						+	+	+	−		+	
388. If victorious, any ceremonies on field					•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)	
389. If defeated, a rallying point fixed						+	+	−	+	+	•	
390. Ceremonies on return if victorious						−	+	+	+	+	+	
391. Dance					+			+	+	+	+	
392. Report to council and given feast							+		(+)			
393. Ceremonies on return if defeated						−	−	−	(+)	−	•(+)	
394. Prisoners run the gantlet				+	+		+		•	−	•	
395. Burned		+	(−)	+	(+)	−	•+	−	−	−	•	
396. Generally adopted		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	(+)	
397. Prisoners of mature age adopted					+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
398. Considered members of adopting family		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
399. Age of beginning to bear arms						12-15	24	16	•14	1[illegible]	14	
400. Age of ceasing to bear arms				50+				70				
401. As long as physically able						+	+		+	+	+	
402. Defensive armor		+	+	+	−	−		−	+	−	+	
403. War caused only by injuries—retaliation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	
404. Disputed boundaries only after coming of whites					+	+		+	+	+	+	
405. Principal chief states injuries, and calls for volunteers, no arguments used	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	
406. Feasts precede march				+		−	+		+	+	+	
407. Fasts precede march							−		+			
408. Consultation of jugglers before march						−	+	•−	+	+	+	
409. Provision made for care of wounded	+			+		−	+	+	+	−	+	
410. Women accompany war party						−	•−	•−	−	−	−	
411. Any actions fought in canoes	+					−	−	−	+	−	−	
412. Sieges prosecuted or defended		−				−	−	−	+	−	+	
413. Large parties go to war		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
414. Small parties depending upon surprise		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
415. Scalps taken	•−			+	+			+	+	+	+	+
Peace												
416. Ambassadors sent to negotiate					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
417. Persons of ambassadors sacred					•+	+	+	•	+		+	
418. Carry belt of white wampum to manifest desire for peace, delivered with speech					(+)	+	+	−	•+		+	+

726
723
727
713
787
728

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little 553
ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a 551
dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was [787]
derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was 861
acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as 713
the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was
ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth
period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of
that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom
of the earliest period.

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation- 726
of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We 787
have no information on this point from the first or second period
and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps
reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been
customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants
in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the
reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning
a war party.

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to 723
the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth
period were of comparatively recent occurrence.

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as 727
trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New
England accounts of the same period related that hands were
also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point
for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder
said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they
referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of
other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed
by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce
his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice
of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times,
but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably
in the second period.

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate 728
very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly
stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace
(416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated

10. Eclipses

John Johnston—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by 821
one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or
some other calamity which they think will shortly come.

Captain Pipe—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man 787
as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in 776
the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing 765
else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is
protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief.

Captain Chipps—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

John Johnston—Meteors: They suppose them to be omin- 821
ous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of 787
them and says see that star they think that person will not live
long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn 824
into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls.

Captain Pipe—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When
one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by 577
the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge.

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

821 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping 787 fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—When they see the new moon, they thank 782 the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

JOHN JOHNSTON—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

CAPTAIN PIPE—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

RELIGION

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 JOHN JOHNSTON—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemöönkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kaataunutööwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Waalseet Maunūtoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the 776
next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated
to the Supreme being.

Captain Pipe—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals,
and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as
beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious
belief by the great distinction in the language, which included
trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings,
and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been
prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [793]
from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream,
or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781]
to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a
Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787]
dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject,
and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some
of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them
and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful
appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [698]
to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. *Evil spirits*

John Johnston—They believe in but one evil spirit which 776
is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but 773
he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation
of all things to the supreme being but contended that he
had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that
the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into
the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason
(they say) why guilty folk always look down.

Captain Pipe—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune 776
is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They
are called ***Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk***, (Those who are bad
Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations.

Captain Chipps—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

Captain Chipps—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. *National Worshiping Society* (*Big House*)

John Johnston—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended
with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions,
etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights
successively. They have a large building prepared for that purpose [346]
about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according
to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each
end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence.
When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves
a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper
and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are
made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing
two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out
every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they
make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus
prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets
up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he
gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then
begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice
word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and
begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating [533
with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops singing 535]
and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps
in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on
with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until
he commences singing again as before and the players commence
beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned
thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or per- 796
haps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated
by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger
to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn dissem-
inates the information through the families of those under him.
At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females as-
semble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the
females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and [791]
downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an
address upon the importance of a due observance of the cere-
monies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleas-
ures during the continuance of them, among which any connection
with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length
the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed
in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the
place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell contain-
ing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal
the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early
dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice
and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who
are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream,
being followed by the company as before, and relieved between
the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from
the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of
a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat [533]
the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which
is described minutely every circumstance connected with the ap-
pearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, [781
which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person 787]
in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they
all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, pre-
serving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during
which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell
under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who
declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or
pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days 851
after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which rela- 553
tives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there
are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then [858]
every birthday give big feast.

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

Lindeström says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

553

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth.

W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several 553
days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not 787
being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name.

John Johnston—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

John Johnston—They have [more than one name] some- 553
times but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion.

Captain Pipe—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation, *408. Consultation of jugglers before march*

721 Captain Chipps—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—
787 the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 Captain Pipe—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

Captain Chipps—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 Roger Williams said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

Peace

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

Captain Pipe in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being 778
itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become
more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities
in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the
most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out
in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the [753]
presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks repre-
senting the human face, both large and small, in families who had,
through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems
not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were
obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform [787]
periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am
led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated
with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us
by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the sum- 796
mer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the 778
family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the Pəla'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet·ane'hiŋg, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Peᵊmatae'kamən, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

---

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in 783
the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the 881
puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'łsi·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolesence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'łsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the [872]
pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'łsi·tᶜ tə'n·daˡ, "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cəwa'n·akwi· tə'n·daˡ, "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'łtak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'ᵐmsən·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but 783
rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the [841]
restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision [787]
bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'łsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'łsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'łsi·t lən'o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'łsi·t xkweᵉ', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'łsi·t mi·'məs. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. 787
The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who 796
have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'oᵉ seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some 787
period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

---

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·aᵉ'gan, "something forbidden."

787 moral conduct. To have received such a visitation is to be blessed indeed.[1] The age at which the revelation comes to the individual can not be said to have any limits. Some acquire their personal guardian in childhood, some in their youth at the time of the fast-vigil, others in the prime of life. And it seems that, like Wi·tapano'xwe, some may have several such revelations. In such a case the informant thought it customary to recite the first one experienced and to retain it throughout his or her career. In the case of plural visions, nevertheless, the individual could choose the one for recitation that he preferred in his own judgment. The general outline of facts and fancies concerned with the fast-vigil as they are given by Harrington seems to summarize this interesting and prominent feature of American ethnology as far as Delaware information is involved.[2] Yet a few specific cases not hitherto recorded of the spiritual visitant coming to individuals in distress, without any effort put forth on their part, may be given here to lay more emphasis upon this aspect of the personal-vision doctrine than it has hitherto received.[3]

We encounter in Delaware practice a system of religious abuse to challenge the pity of some spirit-force in behalf of a child, quite simple in theory. In the hope of evoking the compassion of some man·i'tu, the dutiful, conscientious parents, assume the rôle of desiring to drive the child forth from the shelter of home to become a friendless wanderer. The expulsion from home is, however, but a disguise, one to be carried only so far as to deceive some spirit-force into taking the victim under its protection and providing him with a guiding and shielding control for the rest of life. It is deliberately intended to exploit the mercy of the spirit-forces. The child, of course, is not aware of this ruse, so its misery is genuine. But once the visitation has occurred, its joy is equally genuine for it has found a "savior," a "control," superior in power to any human agency; and, of particular significance to him, one exclusively his own, not to be outgrown, nor to become old and decrepit like his parents. The event may be compared with the conversion period in the adolescence of the Christian child. If the conversion, here taking the guise of a spiritual hallucination like that of the Maid of Orleans, is complete, no distracting trials, no timidity of purpose in life, no "forsaken" complex, will disturb the fatalism which becomes a master principle throughout life for the individual. The fervor of belief of those who have had such revelations

---

[1] Apart from the concept of being blessed, denoted by the stem just given, we find the terms liggwe·'bel·a·n, "he acquires a vision revelation;" laci·'mwi·n, "dream vision."

[2] Harrington, I, pp. 61-77.

[3] For ethnological discussion of the significance of variations in the method by which the guardian spirit is acquired in North America, see R. F. Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America, Mem, Amer. Anth. Assn., No. 29, 1923.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

was noteworthy to the early missionaries among the Delawares, who 787 spoke frequently of it.

"Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort."[1]

"They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding [776] the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridicuously insignificant creatures as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos.* If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.[2]

Dr. Benedict has successfully classified the distribution of native theories of vision inducement and of involuntary spirit possession, as falling within areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains respectively. In the personal experiences of the Delawares the theories are combined, though the former, that of inducement, is stressed. "To be pitied by the spirits" is the proper mental attitude of vision inducement characteristic of the Delawares.

There are opportunities for psychological analysis latent in this behavior, but these I shall pass by. To give the native information in

---

[1] The phenomenon of belief that the individual holds himself as being invulnerable even to bullets is recorded of the early Delawares (Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 127), the same fatalism being known among the Plains Indians.

[2] Zeisberger, pp. 132-133.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

[793] Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'it^{e}, a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787
796 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer (e'lhik·a's·i·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we'te"gas·i·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i't·u and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

stanza, whereupon they utter the prayer-call and raise their hands to 787
"lift the prayer." Then he leads his dancing file around the post 796
until he stands before the image facing the eastern door where they pray again. Experience and the use of good judgment in spacing the distance to be covered during the dancing intervals teaches the reciter to time his progress and pauses so that all will work out rightly. I have indicated on the diagram (fig. 12) the approximate stations, indicated by letters, at which the pauses would occur in a vision recitation of ordinary length.

It should be remembered that the "follower," or "after-time" man, any one of the group brothers of the reciter, is one who follows close behind the reciter throughout the round of the White Path and rattles alternately with the leader. As many men and women, as desire may join the dancing group and keep behind them.

When reaching the place where the drummers sit, it should be noted that the reciter stops and shakes hands with them, calling them by various kinship terms in a low emotional voice. Those who are in the dance line do the same. At the conclusion of this act of greeting he goes back to D, where he stopped singing, and resumes his dancing while the drummers repeat his chant. As he dances past the drummers he faces them dancing sideways instead of straight forward as ordinarily. This is a gesture of deference in recognition of the importance of the part they play.

Thus the reciter's narrative proceeds, beginning with the prelude, in which are given mention of the circumstances connected with the coming of the spiritual visitor. Some cryptic references are made to the spirit's appearance or to the guise in which it had shown itself; while in the interludes come the chant of adoration, the reciter's song recitative. He becomes a spiritual hero sounding his spiritual triumph, praising the Person, or Being, who revealed himself to him. The reciter becomes so thoroughly familiar with his personal relation through frequent rehearsal night after night, year after year, that it soon becomes a formula in his mind. Its phraseology develops into a litany, its alternating paragraphs of prose and chanting likewise become familiar to the ears and capable of repetition not only by the drummers, whose duty it is to echo his stanzas, but to the audience seated round the temple as well. In this way the performances of the leading personages of the ceremony assume the nature of common psycho-literary property. And we understand forthwith how Wi·tapano'xwe had arrived at a point where several of the recitations had become imbedded in his memory.

Whereas the major performance of the recitation of dance rites in the Big House falls to the lot of the senior reciters there is an opportunity provided, through a spirit of religious co-operation, for the younger men and women, who have had spiritual experiences of a

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

787 minor sort, to rehearse their parts, and to give and to receive the
796 blessings accrued through enacting their parts. The open period for minor performers is on the twelfth night at the conclusion of the series of night rituals. This phase of the ceremony is denoted by the term aˢteho'mwi·n which freely rendered means "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out."

The significance of these concluding rites lies in the understanding that the religious complex of the great ceremony has passed its climax. The performances of the men blessed with the visitations of supernatural beings have been done to their satisfaction, the Great Spirit has been duly regarded and invoked for further consideration of his people. And now to mark the subsidence of religious tension under which all have been held for the past twelve nights, the master actors, visionaries and reciters, retire from their high calling, and the hegemony is given over to those whose motives are perhaps as estimable but whose performances are still unperfected—the women and the younger men. The ceremony now takes on the figurative designation aˢteho'mqi·n, having reference to "performing after letting the fires go out."[1] We have observed that after the ceremony of the twelfth night the two fires in the Big House, "their grandfathers," were not replenished with fuel by the attendants and that before closing for the night the ashes were ceremonially taken out. Henceforth on the last morning the dancing and singing is of a lower order of sanctity since this "grandfather," fire, is not a witness to it. The time for the shorter recitations of the inexpert youths and the ceremonially less important women has thus arrived, in accordance with which attitude we see a change of mien and the subsidence of the spirit of reverence maintained so painstakingly heretofore. The occasion is the time for rehearsal by the youths who have, on account of their age, only a minor part to play, but who after some years of this sort of thing will make their initial essay in the regular nightly rounds of recitation. It is thus in the "dimming of the light of the sacred fires" that they appear in the modified-service, when the ceremony is no longer "going with full strength."

796 Besides those men gifted with a vision who recite and lead the dancers around the White Path, there are other personages called ackaʷ's·ak, "attendants" (singular, ackaʷ's) whose official duties are recognized as being of a high grade of sanctity in the Big House. Of these there are three males and three females, the pairs chosen from each of the three so-called totemic groups respectively (Pəleʷ, Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'kʷsi·t). Their selection rests at the option of the individual who "brings in the ceremony." During the period of the performance the Attendants are lodged in six canvas tents ranged in two rows op-

---

[1] aˢ'te "to burn out," referring to fire, kwunali·l·'na aˢ'te nəta'n·dai "let go out the fire."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

"This, behold, is my dream, and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it.'"[1] 539x And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773 also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346 dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

---

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed [787] to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded.

[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.

[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [354] the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778] mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539x grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773 Pole'' group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'kʷsi·t. Their 776 service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

---

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.

[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.

[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon- 539x
point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of 821
this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch 776
up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe·tci·'pon·e·s.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

---

[1] ma'xalaggʷ, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalaggʷ, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point halfway between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. [171]
The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware [773]
belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi·'s·kʷtaya's·ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschisktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some 539x
spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are 776
created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the 773
strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it [787]
in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi·tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death. 539x 754 776 825

---

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, paɔ'tang ne·'xpe·lamu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 249-54) paɔ'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders påÅhra.

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

---

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'ᶜkoᵉ in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pe·yɔ'l·ak· "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohi·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source 539x of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently 861 there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught 787 how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision. It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

---

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he be- 539x
comes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; 787 ●
that also is called greatness. 554

---

[1] The term mete'i·nu in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognized throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, 539x
when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my 796
kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught.

---

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k·ete

[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami·'ke, "to go in."

[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days. [352]

[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1826) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Recitation of Vision by Koᵉkwal·epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw 539ˣ
River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told 796
me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,'"[2] my de- 787
funct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost [136]
extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1894), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1869 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'si·aᵉ is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal
were so referred to, the term a'ŋgel·aᵉ "he is dead" is used. Still another [76]
paraphrase for decease is aᵉmat·a'xpi·l·'yɔ "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being noceᵉ'ŋgi·xi·, "I lie down."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north. 539^x 796

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. 787 As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like təm+, təm+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, təm+, təm+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+![2] And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted;[3]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[1] ya hwi·![2]

---

[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.

[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly. [823]

[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man·ï't·u. As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

[1] Addressed to the drummers.

[2] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man·ï't·u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form. [538]

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi·!.

[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I 539x
heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more 796
and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person 787
said. And he says when he started running [Stop].

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi· "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

---

[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man·it'·u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit. [776]

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, h).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

how many times, namely *four* times. And then we shall never cease 539x
talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good 796
health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, [787]
who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying;[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal' ho+ ho+![10]

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in
number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the [776]
spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

---

[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe·'li· "plenty."

[4] The term used here, ne·xpale·'tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi·mbone·m'kɔ'nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda·'wan a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda'wun).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with təm+ təm+ denoting the sound heard when the man·I't·u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwăk kwă, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ɔggo'·ma·tam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

Two Attendants sweep clean the House.[1] The man goes to the far 539x
end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep 796
from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again[2] will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.[3]

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.[4]

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'pano$_{\chi}$we[5]

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my child- 539x
hood, at Raccoon[6] Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon 796
a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away be- 787
cause I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

---

[1] Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

[2] It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 96).

[3] This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

[4] This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

[5] The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as A·teho·'mwi·n. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 166), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wi·ta'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

[6] The Raccoon, na'hanam, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut·i· na'hanam, "one raccoon," denotes [=26]
twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis.

and more heavy became my grief when I thought inwardly about 529x
myself, pondering how true indeed was that which my parent had 716
spoken, in truth, in saying that never would anything be revealed to 787
me in a vision. And I thought it very likely that never I would experience a blessing that the Delaware is spiritually influenced by. Indeed, my kindred, I was humble in spirit for many years.

Now, when I became a grown man, far away in the country of the Creeks[1] where I was dwelling with them, one time when I was in the dark sometime during the night, I heard some persons coming towards me in the midst of the sky. It was here in the direction of the rising sun, whence they were coming. And when it happened that they stopped, it was right here over and above where I was lying.

I well remembered how she had spoken to me, my deceased mother, and I thought, "Lo and behold,[2] it must be that those are the spirit-forces my parent had talked about." I do not know just how my mind acted. When I looked toward them I saw nothing, pitiful me, although I well heard those Persons. I thought positively there must have been four of them and I thought, indeed, they looked wonderful. It must have been that because of the thing I was very much impressed, when it happened that they were saying to me, "Don't think that never will you have the spiritual power that the Delaware is blessed with!"[3]

I am truly thankful, my kindred, I am happy that I stand in this our Father's path, the beautiful White Path of the Great Spirit.[4] I am truly humble, for me it is unbecoming in the extreme, pitiful as I am, because never did I think that sometime or another, all of a sudden, I would be performing in this our Ceremonial House, where I patiently listened to our deceased old people who capably worshipped. But, however, I will do my utmost. Take heed, you my kindred, to help me because you know now more and more we are growing weak. So perhaps if earnestly we help each other, quite unexpectedly we might gain a spiritual victory if he hears our appeal, he, the Creator.[5]

---

[1] The Creek Indian is known to the Delawares as Me'ckɔ, a proper name derived from the tribal eponym of the Muskogi, as the Creek designate themselves.

[2] The term ce·k'ta· is an exclamation denoting surprise at the occurrence of something which is nevertheless vaguely expected.

[3] Wi-ta'panoxwe, who assumes himself to be the narrator now, is imagining that he would be seated among the members of his division (Pole"). As the turtle-rattle is being passed around the Big House, after several of the older reciters had accepted it and performed their recitation and dance, it would come to his hands. Having decided to undertake the responsibility of beginning his career as a reciter, perhaps unknown to the rest of the worshippers, he would take the turtle-rattle and begin shaking it sideways while declaiming the preceding in a loud staccato voice. (A phonograph record of the narrators recitation was made and is preserved in the collection of the Historical Commission).

[4] With the first sentence of this address the narrator sees himself stepping out into the dancing path with his turtle-rattle. While he advances along the White Path he proceeds with the recitation following.

[5] The informant desired emphasis to be put on the reiteration of the humble spirit, lack of self-confidence but hopeful attitude of the Delaware mind.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

539x
796
787

Still can I hear those Persons there as they were speaking. They said these words;[1]

'he! You are given the same blessing
hayuna hwi· hayuna hwi·[2]
You are given the same blessing
That the Delawares are blessed with,
Through their prayer,
All over the world
hayuna hwi· hayuna hwi·
weya wehe. Stop!'[3]

I am truly thankful as I address you, you men, you young men, you our women, and also you our children. I extend to you all every form of this blessing. Truly I am glad because so far we have enjoyed good health while we are gathered here in this House. Truly, as it is said, I feel grieved myself when I mention the teaching of my elder, and, as I well said, I remember how pitiful they seemed talking long ago, those defunct old men, when they related the manner of life back in the past, the past manners of that time. When I listened to them seriously it was that way. But now here it is worse. It looks hopeless at this time in consideration of our small number. It was even said a few years ago, my kindred, there were quite a number of persons all around yet sitting about. But nevertheless I shall try my utmost.

Truly with shame, so unbecoming is it for me. I did not even think that I would live sufficiently long, deserted through death,[4] that I should, unexpectedly be instructing here where they were instructing, so long ago, our deceased ancestors who so well performed the worship. And I am thankful, my kindred, when you help me in my effort, for that has always been the rule since the beginning of the world, that persons should help each other. For it is even said that a little child may unexpectedly call attention to something important. Therefore greatly does it help when anyone is assisted in his recitation. Truly, my kindred, there is not much of importance I have to say, but I am

---

[1] The reciter now intones his song, a composition descriptive of his revelation and the emotions evoked by it, dancing along the path toward his first stopping point. Following the usual custom he shakes his rattle with the up and down vigorous motion. Then as in the case of the preceding recitation by Elkhair he halts at the close of his chant after signaling the drummers to stop, and the latter repeat his chant while he dances leading those who are accompanying him.

[2] These are the syllables with no specific word-meaning but used in chanting in a poetical sense.

[3] Upon the signal kwi·, "stop," the reciter gives a violent downward shake of the turtle-rattle and the drummers stop beating. At this pause the reciter begins dancing with his followers to the next stopping place, while the drummers, as explained before, repeat his chant. (dictophone record B, Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

[4] Meaning that, being left alone upon the death of his relatives, he did not expect to survive.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

thankful to bring you a blessing from all those our grandfathers[1] round 539x
about us, both in the earth and up above where they dwell, all of them, 776
according to Our Father the Great Spirit who has arranged it. And 737
that is the source from which we enjoy benefit when we are blessed.

This is all that there is for me to say."[2]

---

[1] Meaning the carved images in the Big House and the unseen spirit-forces.

[2] The speaker gives his recitation in the same way every time during the twelve nights, even throughout the period of years during which he appears at the ceremony. As long as he lives he does not vary his recitation appreciably. For instance, when Joe Washington first gave his recitation he wept and did so each time he performed thereafter. The recitations are therefore formal.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX

NOTE I

796
787

Specimens of Recitation-Songs Given in the Aᵉteho'mwi·n Performance.

The following song recitative of one of the oldest women will serve as an example of the type of performance enacted by the women who have had spiritual experiences. The performer was Mawa't·e·s, "Bundle-in-good-condition," a Munsee woman the grandmother of the informant who died about 1914 at an estimated age of 109.

Her song (dictaphone record G)[1] relates to a "mermaid" which she had encountered in a river when a child of eight or nine years of age, determined by the event of the "falling stars" referring to a rain of meteors which she remembered seeing. The informant had heard her experience narrated many times during her life and her song chanted for many years in the Annual Ceremony. Hence he knew both well. The experience as related was as follows:

She was being taken on horseback by her mother across country on a journey to purchase some whiskey as was the custom among the women at that time. Her mother was riding the horse when, coming to a river which had risen by the freshets, she fell off in mid-stream. Neither she nor the horse were seen again. The little girl, Mawa't·e·s, remained on the bank alone. No one knowing what had happened for nine days the child existed without human help. Finally a passing party discovered her and restored her to relatives. Then she related the unusual experience, how shortly after the accident a spotted woodpecker came to her every day bringing sufficient bread to keep her alive. To her the bird appeared as a little man garbed in native clothes and wearing a little hat all patterned and decorated to correspond with the markings on the birds feathers. It was not until the fourth or fifth day that she discovered him to have human form; one time when on the point of leaving he turned his back. Her benefactor sustained her with magic food. The next day of her lonely sojourn by the fateful river, there appeared to her a female emerging from the water, the lower part of whose body was that of a fish. Long streaming hair some yards in length floated about her covering her upper parts. The child tried to help her from the river when she asked her but the water-woman told her that it would be in vain since that was her fate. She announced, however, to the child that she was to be her guardian henceforth, that she would have health and live to a very, very advanced age.

She concluded her mission by telling the poor child that she would

---

[1] In collection of the Museum of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

1

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796
787

not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'te·ᵉs verily grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Wi·tapano'χwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'cti·n (from Justina, a German name), of the Pəleᵉ group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'ki·a, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when peᵉt'ha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'kʷsi·t group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the aᵉteho'mwi·n he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Wi·tapano'xwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji·kaneʷi·) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (aᵉteho'mwi·n) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the aᵉteho'mwi·n dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

796
533

Wi·tapano'xwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:[1]

---

[1] Dictophone record H, State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

NOTE III

Chief Elkhair's vision of the Journey of the Soul.

775 787 The informant in discussing the character of the soul and its future estate here gives an account of the belief of the Delawares as it was reviewed by Chief Elkhair at each performance of the Big House ceremony at some time during the performance when occasion offered itself to deviler a lecture of instruction on this interesting subject to the younger members of the company. While the recitation was fundamentally based upon the experiences indelibly impressed upon the mind of Elkhair in a vision that he at one time received, we recognize, nevertheless, the common catechistic pattern of belief which is fairly general throughout the whole of Delaware religious teaching. Therefore it is rather an example of the latter than a peculiar or individual property of Elkhair's. On account of the importance of this revelation in explaining the Delaware answer to that universally engrossing query as to what becomes of the soul, I have placed the heading here in the appendix instead of in the introduction, to give it the emphasis it seems to deserve.

Elkhair's vision dates back to an earlier period in his life, before the Peyote religion had been introduced among the Delawares. In it he beheld a bird of monstrous size resting upon a mountain. It was toward this landmark that he was led by a spirit who undertook to conduct him as far as the soul of a living being could go. It was apparently to instruct him in the nature of the soul's pilgrimage after death that the revelation was given him. He was accordingly taken only to the point in the journey beyond which the soul can not pass until it is released by death.

The path over which he traveled was a crooked, hard road, always up hill for its first stage, and led toward the mountain referred to. In the sketch made by Wi·tapano'xwe to illustrate this realm this section of the journey is marked A, and is called "Beautiful White Path," or "Righteous Path," the same as the dancing path within the Big House itself. The concept carries on the allegory of the Big House as a symbol of the life of man and its continuation in the spirit world.

Upon completion of this part of the journey the first turning point in the path was attained. This was the Cross Roads, enda'cowa ge·'xiŋ "where roads cross" (B in the sketch). Elkhair's spirit was told here that none but the man who had led a righteous life could proceed beyond this point and achieve the desired goal that lay still farther along. The unrighteous are turned aside here and wander off on a branch path to some unhappy fate. The cross is the symbol of the cross roads. We find it engraved upon the so-called plain drumsticks (figs. 17, 22) used in the ceremony until the ninth night. At this

period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put 775
aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on 787
a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate.

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called tco′las endala′usi·t, or endale′ləmukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge′k'caχonu′k·es "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his [821]
wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe·t'hakowe endale′ləmukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe·′maχtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the [794]
Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence.

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lən·ape′ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Wi·tapano′χwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the 775
informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 794

---

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

000
about 1913. The Delaware women and a
463 few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead
weaving. The women are expert in the art
of working out intricate designs in ribbon
applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths
322 and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
285 done by the modern Delawares and a few
make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we
find that they fall into two groups. In
group A are the ancient earth symbols,
floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in
group B, the religious symbols of the
Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching
and ceremony that arose in the tribe about
50 years ago. Animal and human figures
rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeo-
[172] logical finds, representations of the human
face in stone frequently occur but those
are said to have been the charms owned
and worn by certain individuals who had
dreamed of the mask spirit and had the
right to use its likeness as representative of
the great spiritual force or guardian spirit.
[787] If a person saw an animal during his dream
quest he would have the right to use the
likeness of that particular animal on his
wearing apparel. It is also permissible to
[614] have representations of clan animal totems
on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown
in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as
figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2.
The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests
on the back of a tortoise and that the sun
in its daily round goes under the tortoise
and comes up on the opposite side the next
day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the
power of the Creator which is felt in the
four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other
Algonkian peoples in northeastern North
America from Labrador to southern New
England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops
or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags
fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial
to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly,
both spouses quickly being unfaithful to
one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
pride wounded by a wife's infidelity,
[762] directed his helpless anger inward and
committed suicide by taking poison.
Women too killed themselves out of
jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments
of both sexes seem to represent an
unending striving to find the all-satisfying
parent: a striving continually doomed to
frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which
was sought by both men and women)
seems also to be built upon the prototype
of the search for the all-satisfying (but not
authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of
"friendship" which focused considerable
emotion upon a relationship of formally
recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19]
Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and,
according to Zeisberger, would automatically
suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common
saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially
disrupting rum from white settlements to
the villages.[22]

Implicit in all this was the assumption
562 on the part of all Delawares—men and
571 women alike—that relationships with
women, while they could be satisfying,
were not likely to be; and the further
assumption on the part of men that they
had less to fear from other men than from

---

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 35, B]

562 women, and might safely therefore be
571 more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a
preoccupation, which had a large component
of aggressiveness, with oral needs.
This concern with eating (and with other
oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking,
naming, and oratory), which
reached far beyond subsistence requirements,
can hardly be ascribed to a realistic
subsistence anxiety since the Delawares
had ample supplies of animal and vegetable
foods at their disposal, and adequate
techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving,
and storing them. It is worth
● [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware
solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by
self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed
to pity him and appear in a vision; later
the spirit would be important to him in
helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals,
often with a compulsive quality, were a
recurrent institutional theme: almost all
[527] social gatherings involved eating, smoking,
and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the
famous "eat-all" feasts, for
example; the fondness for liquor may be
regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually
taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually
[758] in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754 diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
accomplished in most cases by poison taken
762] by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were sometimes
[727 ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties
made a ceremonial feast the night before
their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757 used in the treatment of disease, and vomiting
was thought to relieve a sense of guilt,
777] and also to bring luck.[30]

---

[23] Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
[24] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
[25] Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tontoquidgeon.
[26] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
[27] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
[28] Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p 107-108.
[29] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
[30] Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

156 The Delaware could not support a sense
of social disapproval or of disregard. The
great importance attached by Europeans to
conscience was among the Delawares re-
placed by an equal importance attached to
156 "face." When self-esteem needed en-
couragement, the individual dreamed (or
● [787] interpreted his dreams as meaning) that
he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They
[157] are proud and haughty, even a miserable
Indian, capable in no respect, imagines
himself to be a great lord. They hold
themselves in high regard as if they were
capable of great and wonderful things, in
which respect they are much encouraged
by dreams, held among them to be very
significant and, indeed, it would appear
that through dreams Satan holds the
heathen bound and fettered and in close
connection with himself, subjecting them
[797] in this fashion to delusion. All this the
missionaries discover in those who come to
church and who need be thoroughly
humbled before they give up the vain
imaginations concerning themselves."[31]
156 One of the main functions of the guardian
spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion
776 of himself. "They believe," observed
Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or sub-
ordinate deities. Almost all animals and
the elements are looked upon as spirits,
one exceeding the other in dignity and
power. There is scarcely an Indian who
156 does not believe that one or more of these
spirits has not been particularly given him
787 to assist him and make him prosper. This,
they claim, has been made known to them
in a dream, even as their religious belief
is alleged to have been made known
to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

---

[31] Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the
sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even
ridiculously insignificant creatures such as
ants. These are considered their spirits or
Manittos. If an Indian has no Manitto to
be his friend he considers himself forsaken,
has nothing upon which he may lean, has
no hope of any assistance and is small in
his own eyes. On the other hand those
who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further
occasion to remark how many institutions
were mobilized to prevent such casual
wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see
how much aggression such blows to self-
esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
Zeisberger both mention that suicide was
[762] a common way of expressing the enormous
but disorganized hostility aroused by slights
such as marital infidelity or public
shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that
Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment,
scolding, threatening, or otherwise
disciplining children. Growing boys were
left pretty much to their own devices.
Little homilies on moral values were
addressed to them and the child's pride
was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent
much of his time away from home in the
employments of the chase (especially when
the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for
the fundamental subsistence activities. In
general the male was peripheral, the female
central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women
562 were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but
they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of
being the recognized arbiters of the home
or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

---

[32] Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.

[33] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.

[34] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.

[35] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[p 56(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into
which they were cut up were turned into
mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to
pass along about dark. For this reason boys
are often sent to bed without supper, that
they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought
to be favorable to such communion, and for
the same reason are often compelled to get
up before day break that the evil spirits may
not obtain or exercise any wicked influence
upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is wor-
shipped as our Grand Mother or something
of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who
mentioned this [to] me also said that the
Great Spirit of the Delawares was repre-
sented and believed to be a brother of the
Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand
Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Tou-
cey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in
the worship of several of the Indian races,
including his own. The Iroquois return
thanks to the sun for heating the earth and
to the moon for cooling it, but this does not
show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me
on the religious system of the Delawares,
and I hope to find out something definite
about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Dela-
wares as explained by William Adams and
of which he is to write to me more fully, is
quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail,
and they will lose the favor of the Great
Spirit.